

*Against Resistance of Lawful*  
P O W E R S.

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*Charly  
Sackerson*

A

S E R M O N

Preach'd before the

King at *White-hall*.

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By the Reverend Father in God, Seth  
Lord Bishop of Sarum.

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TO THE

# READER.

**I**F you are minded to see more of the Spirit of Dr. Sach-----, than what appears in his Sermons, you may look in two Books printed some Years ago at Oxford, the one was, The Character of a Low-Church-man, and the other, as I remember, The Rights of the Church asserted, &c.



Rom. xiii. 2.

*And they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

**A**mongst all the Stratagems of the Devil, tending to the undermining of Religion, and Subversion of the Souls of Men, though there cannot be any more unreasonable, yet there was never any more unhappily successful, than the creating and fomenting an Opinion in the World, that Religion is an Enemy to Government, and bringing Sincerity and Zeal in Religion, into Jealousy and Disgrace with the civil Powers.

It was by this Jealousy, blown into the Heads of the High Priests and the Sanhedrim amongst the Jews, and of Herod and Pontius Pilate, that Christ himself (the Captain of our Salvation, the Author and Finisher of our Faith) was accus'd, condemn'd, and executed on a Tree. By this the Apostles were hal'd before the Governors of Provinces, forc'd from one City to flee into another: For this, they endur'd Bonds and Imprisonment, and sundry Kinds of Death. It was through this Fancy that the Christians for three hundred Years together, endur'd the Rage of heathen Emperors; *being destitute, afflicted, and tormented.* Our Lord Christ was traduc'd as an Enemy to Cæsar, a Man refractory to the Roman Laws, and a Nonconformist to the Religion and Laws of his Country. The Apostles were charg'd as Disturbers of the publick Peace, with *turning the World upside down.* The primitive Christians were accounted Enemies to the Common-wealth, adverse, and malevolent to the Empire; and the Christian Religion it self was bruited, and surmis'd to have something in it offensive and dangerous to the civil Government, as appears not only by the Edicts of heathen Emperors, but also by the Apologies of Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Athenagoras. &c.

Neither



Neither was it thus only of old, before the *Roman Empire* was become Christian; but even since the Time of *Constantine*, down to our Fathers Days, nay, to our own, we shall find the Devil still managing the same Pretence, carrying on the same Antichristian Mystery of Iniquity, which began to work in the Time of our Lord Christ and his Apostles.

Those that profess to know the *Arcana Imperii*, and publicly proclaim themselves to the World to be qualify'd for Molders of Common-wealths, and Dictators to Princes, are the Writers of Politicks; *Machiavel* abroad, and others nearer Home: Some of these, pretending Discoveries of Things unknown to all our Fathers, if they be strictly analys'd, will be found to resolve their whole Mystery into this one Pretence, That Religion, in the Height and Exaltation of it, is prejudicial to Policy; and that, to be a thorough-paced, a sincere, and zealous Christian, is to be dangerous to the State.

As the Remedy for which Evil, they have thought fit and necessary to enervate the Principles of all Religion so far as to remove the Doctrine of Good and Evil, the Immortality of the Soul, the Rewards and Punishments of the World to come; that so Religion may appear wholly to derive from Policy.

How destructive these Doctrines are, not only to the Souls of Men, in Reference to the World to come, but to the Interests of this Life, (the regular and secure Acquisition, and Enjoyment whereof, are entirely deriv'd from the great and everlasting Ordinance of Government) I am not now call'd to speak. But surely it cannot be unnecessary to endeavour to state this Question, to search into the Grounds of this Pretence, to examine thoroughly from whence all this Clamour, these Fears and Jealousies; whence all this mighty Scandal hath arisen.

The Gospel of our *Alcoran*, which hates the Light, and abhors a strict Examination of the Principles whereon it stands. When the *Jews* contended with our Saviour, and oppos'd his Doctrine, he desir'd to bring the Matter in Question to a rational Decision, *John x.* The Question there was, Whether he were the Son of God? And he propounds them this fair *ἑστίν*, Verse 37. *If I do the Works of my Father, believe me; if I do not, believe me not.*

And I verily, as a Minister of Christ, (thro' the meanest of ten thousand) am bold in the Power of the Truth of the Gospel, to say, Let the Adversaries of Religion search and look; let them employ their Wit, their Industry, their Logic, if any Thing can be found in the Principles of Christianity, prejudicial to the Power of just and lawful Magistrates;

nay



may, moreover, if it be possible for Men or Angels to state the Rights of civil Government upon clearer and firmer Principles, to secure them by more powerful Obligations, to urge them upon Men by more efficacious Motives of Rewards and Punishments than those are, which the very Foundations of Christianity do expressly propound; then let the Gospel and the Ministers of it, endure all that Contempt and Obloquy which these Men desire to cast upon them.

And for the Foundations of our Religion, there are those that tell us, that Christianity is founded upon *Cypar*, (which is indeed, by Interpretation, a Stone) but the Apostle tells us, (*Ephes. ii. 20*) that we are built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-stone; wherefore by these the present Question is to be decided.

If any Men, at any Time, taking upon them the sacred Name of Christians, have swerv'd from the Rule of their Profession, and (acting contrary to the Spirit of Christ) have made that holy Name to be blasphem'd, it is Reason that they be esteem'd the utter Enemies of Christianity, and that they themselves should bear their Condemnation: but to charge their Exorbitances upon that Profession which they have perphan'd and injur'd, is such an Injustice as cannot consist with moral Honesty, or philosophical Ingenuity.

So then, *hie Rhodus, hie saltus*. As Saint Paul, (*1 Cor. xv. 14, 17, 20.*) concerning the Resurrection of Christ, *If Christ be not risen our preaching is vain, and your Faith is vain; -- But now is Christ risen.* So, if within the Compass of those Foundations which I have mention'd, be found any Colour or Shadow of License for any Person whatsoever, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to intrench upon the Power of lawful Magistrates; if any Warrant at all for open Rebellion, or privy Conspiracies; for murdering or deposing of Princes, or absolving Subjects from their Allegiance; then let Kings cease to be our nursing Fathers, and Queens to be our nursing Mothers; let David look to his own House; let the Light of our Eyes, the Breath of our Nostrils, the Restorer of Religion, the Defender of our Faith look rather first to defend himself. It will then be reasonable to expect, that the Kings of the Earth should stand up, and the Rulers take Counsel together against the Lord, and against his Christ, that they should break their Bonds sunder, and cast their Cords from them, *Psal. 2. 2.* Then our Preaching is vain, and your Faith is vain.

But now indeed, the Case is otherwise, and that evidently. What the Laws of Men could never do with all their temporal Rewards and Punishments, in that they are weak; that

Christi-

Christianity, in the true Spirit of it, performs to the utmost Height that is conceiveable.

The Foundation of Government and Obedience, is deeply and firmly rooted in the Foundation of our Religion. And, if the Scriptures cannot be broken, if it be true that *Heaven and Earth shall pass away, before one jot of it shall pass away*; it is as true, that the Ordinances of the Sun and Moon shall fail before this Ordinance shall be dissolv'd. For if by the Principles of our Religion, we are oblig'd to believe concerning the Books of the *Old Testament*, that they have been deliver'd by *holy Men of God, who spake as they were mov'd by the Holy Ghost*, 2 Pet. 2. 21. then the Holy Ghost hath said, *By me Kings reign, &c.* Prov. 8. 15. If Christ be the Son of God, the Son of God hath said, *Render to Cæsar the Things which are Cæsar's*, Mat. 22. 11. If the Holy Spirit did over-shadow Peter, and the rest of the Apostles, then Peter, over-shadow'd and fill'd with the Spirit, commands us in the Name of God, to *submit our selves to every Ordinance of Man*, 1 Pet. 2. 13. If Saint Paul were call'd to be an Apostle by the miraculous Appearance of our Lord Christ after his Ascension, and was by him immediately instructed in the pure and genuine Spirit of Christianity, then Saint Paul's Theory concerning Government, is an authentick Christian Theory, whereby the Doctrines and Practices of Christians are to be judg'd: And that Theory is deliver'd in the seven first Verses of this Chapter, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, &c. And they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

I call it a Christian Theory of Government, because it is a brief and comprehensive Scheme, whereby all Questions concerning Obedience and Government, may, according to Christian Principle be resolv'd.

The whole Discourse of the Apostle, consisteth of two general Parts:

First, A strict Injunction.

Secondly, Effectual Motives.

First, The Injunction in the first Words, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers.*

Secondly, The Motives in the Words following, which are taken from

I. The Original and Institution of Government; it is ordain'd of God: Hence follows,

II. The Sinfulness of Resistance; *they resist the Ordinance of God.* And,

III. The Danger of it, *they shall receive Damnation.* Which is again enforce'd by

IV. The End of Government, in Respect of evil and good Men.

Our



Out of all which, follows

V. The Necessity of Subjection; *Wherefore ye must needs be subject.* And,

VI. The Nature of that Necessity; it is not of *Prudence*, but of *Conscience*.

After all which, the Apostle (like a legitimate Demonstrator) resumes his Proposition, and concludes it with an *ἐπεὶ ποιεῖναι*, Ver. 7. *Render therefore to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour.*

The Words which I have chosen, contain in them the Danger of Resistance to the civil Powers. They relate both to the antecedent and subsequent Part of the Apostle's Discourse, and are as efficacious towards the pressing of the Injunction of Obedience, as it is possible for Words to express, or Men to conceive.

The strongest and most operative Arguments upon Men (at leastwise — *οἱ τοὺν βεβητοὶ εἰσιν*) are Arguments of Terror. The most terrible Thing within the Compass of human Apprehension, is Damnation; which imports, besides the Judgments of this Life, the eternal Privation of the Enjoyment of God, utter Darkness, and everlasting Burnings.

*Those that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

*Those that resist* ἀνθεσικότες, Resistance is a relative Act, and it implies some Person or Thing to be resisted. What then is the Correlate of ἀνθεσικότες?

That is deliver'd in the first Verse, *Those that resist* ἐξουσίαις υπερέχουσιν, the Authorities set over them, Civil Authorities having *Jus Gladii*, the Authorities supreme or subordinate, justly obtaining over them. It is not Δυνάμις, or κρείττον, which is here used, (which signify corporal Strength and Power) but ἐξουσία, which the Scripture distinguisheth from both the other. From Δυνάμις, Luke iv. 36. and ix. 1. 1 Cor. xv. 24. Ephes. i. 21. from κρείττον, Jude 25. It answers the Hebrew word מְלָכָה, which the Septuagint translates by all the Names of legal Authority, ἀρχή, βασιλεία, σερτεία, κυεία δυνασεία, οικονομία. It is taken for the Persons of Governors, as well as for their Power: So Ephes. iii. 10. *That to Principalities and Powers* (ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις) might be known, &c. and πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας καὶ τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας, against Powers, and the Rulers of this World, Ephes. vii. 2. So that we may not separate their personal and their politick Capacity.

It remains, that we enquire the Meaning of ἀνθεσικότες, and ἀντίστωμφοι, what is it to resist in the Language of the Gospel. Now,

I. That



1. That to oppose by Force, is to resist, it is so plain, that I need not speak to it. We meet both the Words in that Sense, James v. 6, 7. *Κύριε & ὑποτάξαις ἀνίστασθαι, God resisteth the Proud;* and *ἀνίσταντο τῷ διαβόλῳ, Resist the Devil.*

2. But the Word signifies Opposition by Subtily, as well as by Force. The Opposition of Elymas, the Sorcerer, to St. Paul, is express'd by this Word, Acts xii. 8. *ἀνίστατο, and the Opposition of Jannes and Jambres to Moses, ἀνίσταται, 2 Tim. iv. 15.*

3. And Lastly, it signifies Opposition by Words, as well as by Deeds. So *ἀνίσταν, & ἀνίστηναι, to Gainsay, and to Resist, are the same, Luke xxi. 15. and ἀνίστηναι is to Con-  
tradict, Acts vi. 10.*

The Words then do clearly and plainly comprehend all Manner of Resistance or Opposition.

This hitherto concerns the Proposition taken materially: If we reflect upon the Form of it, there will be two Things to be consider'd.

*First*, That the Proposition is indefinite, and equipollent to an Universal; *They that resist*, that is, *πᾶσα ψυχή, every Soul* (as in the first Verse) that resists, without any exception of Persons.

*Secondly*, That the Act of Resistance is set down likewise absolutely without any Restraint, in respect of any Pretences or Causes whatsoever. So that the Sense of the Words resolv'd and expounded by the Scriptures, is this; Every Soul, which, upon any Pretence whatsoever, in any Manner whatsoever, shall resist the lawful Authority that is over him, *shall receive to himself Damnation*; that is, he puts himself thereby into a State of Damnation.

This I conceive to be the Meaning of the Holy Ghost in the Words of my Text. I must acknowledge, that two Things have been question'd in this Proposition by the Men of this unhappy, viperous, and adulterous Generation.

I. The first is, Whether *τὸ κείμα* ought to be interpreted so severely, as to signify eternal Damnation.

II. Whether that, which is said concerning all Persons and Pretences, can be made good upon the Principles of Christianity.

I. As to the former of these, I shall only say, That the Argument brought against this Interpretation, doth, in Truth, exceedingly confirm it.

*Object*. The Allepation is, that *τὸ κείμα* is used in Scripture for temporal Judgment. The Place produc'd, is 1 Cor. xi. 29. *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh τὸ κείμα, Damnation to himself;* where the Apostle seemeth to explain *τὸ κείμα* by the following

following Words, Verse 30. *For this Cause many are weak and sickly, and many sleep; viz. by temporal Judgments.*

*Sol.* And indeed this is true; but these Things likewise ought to be obser v'd.

1. That the same Penalty is denounc'd in the Gospel to those who *resist Authority*, and to those that are *guilty of the Body of Christ*, 1 Cor. xi. 27. and *trample upon the Blood of the everlasting Covenant*, Heb. 10. 29.

2. That neither *Ananias*, and *Sapphira*, nor yet the *Corinthians*, were, by their temporal Judgments, exempted from eternal.

3. And lastly, That seeing the great Difference betwixt the legal and evangelical Dispensation did consist in this, that the express Promises and Threatnings, under the Law, were temporal; and under the Gospel, eternal: If God shall, under the Gospel, besides eternal Punishments due to every Sin, and moreover to some particular Sins the Treatnings of temporal Judgments; let these Men consider what Advantage they have gotten, and what can more be devised to contribute to the Aggravations of such a Sin. I shall say no more to the first Question, nor to that part of the Text, which concerns the Damnation of Resisters precisely consider'd; but shall apply my self to the Resolution of the second.

II. It is impossible, in half an Hour, to speak concerning all those Pretences for Resistance of Magistrates; which, being raised by Satan, and made use of by the Children of Disobedience, are falsely charg'd upon Religion. I shall single out some of the chief of them, and examine them by *the Law and the Testimony*, by the Old and New Testament; adding to them, as Occasion requires, the Judgment and Practice of the primitive Christians; and afterwards make a brief Application.

Those which have given the greatest Scandal, as having troubl'd the Christian World, and almost turn'd it upside down, are reducible to the two Heads of Religion, and civil Affairs.

*First*, Those which refer to Religion, are such scandalous Tenets as these:

I. That erroneous (suppose Heretical or Idolatrous) Powers may be resisted, especially if they endeavour to force Men to their own Religion.

II. That Christian Magistrates have no Power in Matters of Religion; viz. None

1. In Religious Causes.

2. Over Religious Persons.

By Orders.

By personal Gifts.

Secondly, Those which refer to Matters civil, are reducible to such as these; I. Harsh Administration.

II. Pretences of Competition of Power, and the like.

Now, I shall not be afraid, or backward, to acknowledge, That if any one of these Tenets be agreeable to the Principles of Christianity, or to the Practice of the primitive and purest Christians, who are to be presum'd to have known the Mind of Christ, and his Apostles; then we are to admit, that there is Reason in what is alledg'd to create a Jealousy upon Religion.

For, 1. If Erroneous, Heretical, or Idolatrous Magistrates may be resisted, (because they are so, or because they join Oppression of godly Men unto their Error in Religion) how can any Kingdom stand? These are Matters wherein every Man makes himself a Judge; and it is not material, whether he judge righteous or unrighteous Judgment; the Matter once stated in *Thesis*, that in such Cases Men may resist, the *Hypothesis* is easily made, and Men let loose to act according to their proper Apprehensions, or the Pretences of those, who have Power with them.

What shall be done, when at the same time a Prince shall be judg'd by one part of his Subjects heretical and prophane, for departing from Superstition, and vindicating his Power from unjust Usurpations over it; while another part shall judge him to be superstitious, and will never believe him to abhor Idols, so long as he will not commit Sacrilege? What shall be done, while some conclude him to be irreligious, because he will not worship Images; others idolatrous, because he kneels at the Communion? And both esteem him an Oppressor, because he restrains their Zeal, and hinders them from that excess of Riot, which they pant after, to the devouring of one another?

Supposing this Tenet to be true, it is indeed evident no Government can be. But now what Colour can there be to charge this Tenet upon Christianity? Doth the Old or New Testament give any occasion to this Doctrine? Is it countenanc'd (1.) by *Moses*? Or, (2.) by the Prophets? Or, (3.) by our Saviour? Or, (4.) by the Apostles? (5.) That *Cloud of Witnesses*, (the noble Army of Martyrs) did they give Testimony to this Assertion, or to the contrary? I may not insist: A Word to each of these.

1. *Moses* was so far from the Doctrine of Resistance, that, notwithstanding the Hardness of *Pharaoh's* Heart, the Cruelty of the Bondage, the Weakness of the *Agyptians* by Plagues, the Numbers of *Israel*, six hundred thousand, and three thousand five hundred and fifty fighting Men, above twenty Years old; besides the Tribe of *Levi*; yet he would not lead them



them into the promis'd Land, without Pharaoh's positive and exprefs Consent to their Departure.

2. As for the Prophets; in the third Chapter of *Daniel* we find three of God's Children put to the Tryal (the fiery Tryal) of this Doctrine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, an Idolater, and a Tyrant, acting highly under both those Capacities together. They were cast into the fiery Furnace, because they would not worship the golden Image which he had set up. And in the sixth, we find *Daniel* thrown into the Lions Den, only for praying to the God of *Israel*. Let us consider their Behaviour, did they resist, or mutiny, or labour to alienate, or discontent, or by denouncing Threats or Terrors) to discourage Subjects from Obedience? How had they been instructed by their Prophets? *Jeremy* (2 *Chron.* 36. 13.) had taught them, that *Zedekiah* had turn'd from the Lord God of *Israel*, in rebelling against *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had made him swear by God; and that they ought to seek the Peace of the City whither they were carry'd Captives, and to pray unto the Lord for it, *Jer.* 29. 7. And therefore the three Children in the third Chapter of *Daniel* only refer themselves to God for Deliverance; and *Daniel*, in the midst of the Lions Den, prays heartily for *Darius*, O King, live for ever! *Dan.* 6. 21.

3. In the next Place, let us consider the Case of Christ and his Apostles, and see whether any such Tenet may be collected from their Doctrine or Practice, their Speeches or their Actions. As for what concerns our Lord Christ, I have had the Honour formerly in this Place more at large to vindicate him from such Aspersions. He pay'd Tribute at the Expence of Miracle, *Mat.* 17. 27. He submitted himself to all the Powers that were over him; to the Sanhedrim, and their Delegates, to *Herod*, to *Pontius Pilate*: He submitted himself to Death by an unjust Sentence, even to the bitter and accurs'd Death upon the Cross, *Philip.* 2. 8. This was his Practice: As for his Doctrine, he taught Men to render to Cæsar, the Things that were Cæsar's, *Mat.* 22. 21. He acknowledg'd *Pilate's* Power to be from above, *John* 19. 11. He rebuked *Peter* for smiting with the Sword, and told him, that those that take the Sword, shall perish by the Sword, *Mat.* 26. 52. He taught his Disciples to pray for them which should persecute them, *Mat.* 5. 44. And the utmost Permission which he gave them, was, when they were persecuted in one City, to flee into another, *Matth.* 10. 23.

4. As for the Apostles; they taught Men to obey them that have the Rule over them, *Heb.* 13. 27. To submit themselves to every Ordinance of Man, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. To do all Things, without murmuring or disputing, *Philip.* 2. 14. To pray for

*Kings, and all that are in Authority, 1 Tim. 2. 2. Saint Peter hath told us, that such as despise Dominion, and speak Evil of Dignities, are (in an especial manner) reserv'd to Judgment, 1 Pet. 2. 9, 10. and St. Paul in my Text, that they shall receive Damnation.*

This Doctrine they seal'd with their Blood. St. Peter (according to ecclesiastical Tradition) was crucify'd, and St. Paul beheaded; James, the Son of Zebedee, slain with the Sword, &c.

Now, as for the Powers to which all these Instructions and Behaviours did refer, they were for Idolatry, and Tyranny, and Persecution, *Humani generis perverta.*

*Obj.* If it be objected, That all these submitted, because they were not able to resist. *Sol.* The Answer upon Christian Principles, might be, that he which restrain'd the Flames, and stop'd the Mouths of Lions, could have given his Servants Power to resist; that Christ could have pray'd his Father, who would have given him more than twelve Legions of Angels for his Relief, *Mat. 26. 53.* That the Apostles who wrought mighty Signs and Wonders, could have rescu'd themselves, had it not pleas'd the great Ordainer of Powers, by their Submission, to ratify and establish the Doctrine of Obedience.

5. But the Belief and Practise of the primitive Christians, will satisfy this Objection, even to common Sense and Reason.

The Instances in this Kind are infinite, where Christians abounding in Numbers, being in Arms, and abundantly able to make Resistance, have chosen, with the Expence of their Lives, to yield Obedience to Idolaters, persecuting them for their Religion. I shall name but two Examples.

*Tertullian, Apolog. §. 37,* tells the Emperor, that his Cities, Islands, Castles, Councils, Armies, Regiments, and Companies, the Palace, the Senate, the Courts of Judicature, were fill'd with Christians; and yet they submitted to Persecution.

And we read that the Theban Legion consisted of six thousand six hundred sixty and six Persons, every Man Christian, when they submitted to the Decimation of Maximilian for Religion.

I shall say no more to the first Pretence.

II. Now, the second is like unto it; alike prejudicial to Government; alike false, and scandalous to Religion.

*An House or Kingdom divided, cannot stand, Mat. 12. 25. And God is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace, Cor. 14. 13.* and that especially in Religion. If none have this Power to order Matters of Religion, there must be Confusion; if any other beside the supream Magistrate, there will be



be Division. The inevitable Inconveniences of the Exemption of religious Things, and religious Persons, from the Power of the Magistrate, are abundantly set forth by such as would improve them to the Disadvantage of Religion. And, indeed, to go about to deny, or to diminish the dismal Consequences of such Pretences, were to endeavour to put out the Eyes of all the Men of Reason and Experience in the World.

My present Duty is to enquire what Relation these Pretences have to the Principles of Christianity; and that

First, As to religious Causes.

Secondly, As to ecclesiastical Persons.

Thirdly, As to holy or gifted Brethren, as they stile themselves.

Now, in order to a Resolution in these Enquiries, I shall (as a Lemma) humbly propose one Observation.

It is this, That whereas there are 2 Things whereon all political Administration doth depend; 1. Concerning the Rights, and Bounds, and Regulation of sovereign Powers: 2. Concerning the Duties and Obedience of Subjects. We find both Christ and the Apostles, frequently labouring to settle in the Consciences of Men, that part which concerns Obedience; but no where restraining, or limiting, or particularly regulating the Office of sovereign Powers; but leaving them to those general Rules which concern the Account and Duty of all Men in their several Stations, and to the Terms whereupon the Providence of God was wont to settle the Princes and Governors of the World. Let the Rights of *Cesar* be what they will, (in Reference to Tribute, or other Matters) Christ will not determine them; This he will, those Things which belong to *Cesar* (according to *Via Gentium*) must be render'd to him. He doth not examine *Pilate's* Power in Case of Blasphemy or Treason; but acknowledges it, and submits. He falls not upon, or examining the Power of the *Sanhedrim*, either in their original Power, or the Power left them by the *Romans*: *They sit in Moses's Chair, &c.* *Whatsoever therefore they bid you do, do it, Mat. 23. 2, 3.*

And so likewise the Apostles, they seem to be unconcerned (as it were) in the governing Part of civil Policy. No Word is found in all their Writings, enquiring into the Rights of the *Roman* Emperors, (who were sovereign) or limiting the Exercise of their Power. Only thus much they take for certain, such as they were, they were ordain'd of God. And they spend all their Labour in founding deeply, and firmly establishing that other Part which concerns Obedience.

From this Observation it will follow, That whatever Things



Things, or Persons, were not before the Times of Christ, and his Apostles, exempt from the Power of the Magistrate, are not by the Foundations and Principles of Christianity exempted. (*Non eripit mortalia, qui regna dat caelestia.*) And it will only remain for us to enquire, what was the Manner of the Nations of the World, and of God's peculiar People, in reference to these Particulars, before, and at the Times of Christ and his Apostles. To which, if we shall add the Practice of the best and most ancient Christian Emperors, I know not what more can be desired to clear the present Argument.

I suppose it needless to put in a Caution, that while we speak of the Magistrates Power to order Matters of Religion, we do not entitle him to the Priest's Office, (the Spiritual Function) or the Execution of it, in preaching the Word, administering the Sacraments, exercising the Power of Ordination, or of the Keys, &c. Blessed be the Lord God of our Fathers, who hath put it into our Sovereign's Heart to be tender of the Rights of the Church, as of the Apple of his Eye.

This is a Calumny insisted on, generally, by almost all our Adversaries; but it is too rude and gross to be spoken to in this Place. Rather let us see whether the Sovereigns among all People, *Heathen, Jews, Christians*, have not claimed, and exercised Power in all Causes, over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical, as Civil.

1. For Causes. The New Testament, *Rom. i. 14.* sometimes divides the *Gentiles* into *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; sometimes into Wise and Unwise. According to which Division the *Romans* are, I suppose, reckon'd under the *Greeks*, from whence they were mostly extracted, and with whom they contended in Civility. Briefly, 1. The *Greeks*. 2. The *Romans*. 3. The Barbarous Nations did always exercise such a Power.

(1.) *Aristotle*, (*Polit. lib. 7. cap. 8.*) the greatest among the *Greeks*, tells us, that the first and principal Thing in a Commonwealth, is *ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον πύληα*. And, accordingly, if we consult the Fragments which are left us, of the Laws of the most ancient *Grecian* Commonwealths, we shall find nothing so frequent as the Ordinances concerning their Religion.

(2.) Amongst the *Romans*, *Cicero* (the wisest) saith, that Religion is the Foundation of human Society; as in Truth it is. To say nothing of the Ordinances of *Numa*, the *Fus Pontificum*, &c. the Titles of the twelve Tables are many of them concerning Religion.

(3.) As for the Barbarous Nations, I shall not multiply Testimonies, nor go beyond the Line of Scripture. In the third of *Daniel* we find an Edict of the King of *Babylon*, en-  
joins

joining all People, Languages, and Tongues, to commit Idolatry; Verse 4, 5. And, by and by, another Edict, that no Man should speak amiss of the God of Shadrach, Mesech, and Abednego, Verse 29. In the sixth, we find Darius, (the Persian) by the Advice of his Council, signing a Decree, against petitioning (for thirty days) any God besides himself, Verse 9. and shortly another, that all Men should tremble, and fear before the God of Daniel, Verse 26. In the third of Jonah, the King of Nineveh, and his Nobles, proclaim a publick Fast. In the first of Ezra, Ciprius puts forth an Edict to build the Temple at Hierusalem. In the fourth, Artaxerxes reverseth it. In the sixth, Darius re-inforceth it.

I suppose it is now evident, that Greeks and Barbarians did exercise this Power.

To think to elevate the Force of these Instances, because all these were Strangers from God, and Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, Ephes. ii. 12. is to mistake the Purpose for which they are alledg'd.

However, it was not thus among the Kings of the Nations only, but among the holiest and wisest of the Govetnors and Kings of Israel and Juda; who, for abolishing false Worship, and ordaining the true, are often highly commended by the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures. The Time would fail me, to speak distinctly, and particularly of the Ordinances concerning Religion, which were made by Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Manasse also, and Josiah; concerning whom the Scripture gives these Characters. Moses was the Man of God, Deut. 33. 1. Joshua the Servant of the Lord, Josh. xxiv. 29. David a Man after God's own Heart, 1 Sam. xiii. 14. There was none like unto Solomon, 2 Chron. ix. 22. Asa his Heart was perfect with the Lord, 1 Kings xv. 14. The Lord was with Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xvii. 3. Hezekiah did that which was right in the Sight of the Lord, 2 Chron. 20. 2. Manasse was heard of God, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13. Josiah did that which was right; and his Goodness was recorded, 2 Chron. xxxv. 26.

Now, the Acts of every one of these concerning the Worship of God, and Matters of Religion, are recorded and applauded in the Scriptures. For these all order'd and regulated Services, and Sacraments, and Covenants with God; they erected Altars, and Tabernacles, and Temples, and dedicated 'em to the Lord; they destroy'd Idolatry; reform'd Abuses in God's Worship; settled both the standing Worship of God, and occasional Thanksgivings and Humiliations: To omit other Matters.

The whole Aaronical Ministry, which consisted in Ceremonies and Sacrifices, typical and carnal Ordinances, was not ordered by the Hand of Aaron, but of Moses, who was King in Jeshurun, Deut. xxxiii. 5. The

The Tabernacle, and Temple-Service, (which, beside the *Mosaical* Institutions, consisted of Spiritual abiding Ordinances) was instituted by *David*: Who, being *the sweet Singer of Israel*, and acquainted more than ever any Man (for ought appears) with the Ways and Helps of lifting up the Heart to Spiritual Intercourse with God, to that End appointed the Use of Musick in the Church; and (without fear of stinting the Spirit) he prescrib'd set forms of Praise and Prayers for the Use of the Temple; and order'd the Service for every Day. A Psalm, consisting partly of the one hundred and fifth, ninety sixth, and one hundred and eighteenth, he first deliver'd to *Asaph* and his Brethren, at the Reduction of the Ark from the House of *Obed-Edom*, 1 Chron. xvi. 7. And divers other *Psalms* were compos'd by him for the Service of the Church.

And what he had ordain'd, *Solomon* put in practice. In the fifth Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*, we find the Pattern of the Service of this Time, and Place Verse 12. the Sons of *Asaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun*, array'd in white Linnen, with musical Instruments, praising the Lord, saying, For he is good, &c. Verse 13. viz. reciting the one hundred and eighteenth Psalm; and, in token of God's Acceptance, a Cloud fill'd the House, Verse 14.

The one hundred thirty and sixth Psalm likewise was wont to be sung in Thanksgivings. So we find, 2 Chron. xxix. 25. also *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*, praising the Lord in the Words of *David* and *Asaph*, 2 Chron. xxxv. 15.

Thus stood the Matter under the Law; the ordering of Matters of Religion was not exempted from the supreme Power. *Hezekiah* vary'd from *Moses* Law, and was blameless. Neither was it otherwise in the best and purest Times under the Gospel.

It had been but a slender Invitation to the Emperors to become Christian, if, by submitting to Christianity, they must lose so considerable a part of the sovereign Power enjoy'd by all their Predecessors, and be thereby expos'd inevitably to Seditions and Rebellions, upon every frantick Eruption of religious Melancholy. The primitive Emperors understood themselves otherwise, and so did the Christians under them. I may not stand to recite the *Annals* of the Church.

If *Constantine* had not interposed for the composing of the *Arrian* Heresy, what had become either of Government, or Religion?

The drawing up of Canons for the Regulation of Religion, was, by our Lord, committed to the Apostles and their Successors, the Bishops and other ecclesiastical Persons: But, that these Canons should be enforc'd as Laws by temporal Penalties, it was by Sanction of Civil Powers. In



In the second œcumenical Council, the Fathers assembl'd at *Constantinople*, beseech *Theodosius* the Elder, to ratify the Decrees of that Synod.

Thus we find (*Nov. Const.* 131) *Justinian* establishing the *Nomo-Canonicon*, or Code of the universal Church, consisting of the Canons of the 4 first general, and 5 ancient provincial Councils; and commanding them, *ὡς νόμους φυλάττειν*, to be kept as Laws. Briefly to determine this Question, we need only to view the Titles of the sixteenth Book of the Code of *Theodosius*; the thirteen first Titles in the Code of *Justinian* *Photius's* *Nomo-Canon*, and the like.

The Pretence of Exemption of ecclesiastical Causes, so as hath been intimated, as it is inconsistent with Government; so it is also with the Principles of Christianity.

2. Thus much having been spoken concerning the Regulation of Matters of Religion, it will be needless to enlarge concerning the second Pretence of the Exemption of ecclesiastical Persons.

This Tenet is equally dangerous with the former, and equally contrary to the Principles of Christianity. It were to be wish'd, that all Men professing themselves Ministers, were thoroughly convinc'd of the Doctrine of Obedience; otherwise, as they grow popular, they become dangerous. *Sacerdotum quidam eo sunt Ingenio, ut, ni pareant, terrerent.* And *St. Chrysostom*, commenting upon every Soul; &c. saith *καὶ Ἀπόστολος, καὶ Ευαγγελιστής, καὶ Προφήτης*. Both the Apostle, the Evangelist, and the Prophet. Our Saviour was both Priest and Prophet; and the Apostles were ecclesiastical Persons, yet did not think themselves exempted. Such Persons were not exempted, either before or after the Times of our Saviour; neither in 1. a single, or 2. joint Capacity. From the Beginning it was not so, *Mat.* 19. 8.

1. As to single Persons under the Law, we find an Instance of the Exercise of the sovereign Power over an High-Priest offending, in *Abiathar*, whom *Solomon* thrust out, and plac'd *Zadoc* in his Room, *1 Kings* 2. 27. *ibid.* 35.

2. As to the calling of Assemblies before the Gospel-times, it did belong to the supream Magistrate. We find *Moses*; not *Aaron*, *Joshua*, not *Eleazar*, *David*, not *Abiathar*, *Solomon*, not *Zadoc*, summoning the Priests and Levites to meet together. And

In the primitive Times of the Christian Emperors, we do not meet with Councils or Synods call'd by the Bishop of *Rome*, nor with Ministers casting themselves into classical and synodical Meetings; nor with Assemblies of Divines call'd against, or without the Prince's Consent.

The Indiction of Times and Places, the Convocation of

Persons, the Presidency, the Order of Debates, the Dismission of the Assemblies, the Roboration of Canons (as to making them Laws of the Empire) in the general, and provincial Councils, were all the Work of the supream Magistrate. And

As for Mattets of Appeal, we find *Paul* appealing to *Cæsar*: *Athanasius* (from the Synod at *Tyre*) to *Constantine*; to whom three Appeals were likewise made in the Cause of *Cæcilianus*, and *Donatus*; and many more Instances of this and the like Nature.

3. I should now dismiss this Head concerning Religion, did there not remain one Pretence more, and that so wild and monstrous, that it looks as if it were the last Effort of the Enemy of Mankind, (*ultimus Diaboli conatus*) for it strikes at the Heart both of Government and of Religion. It is this that Saints and gifted Persons (as they call themselves) are exempt from human Laws; and in Effect resolves into this, that to reprobate others, and assume to themselves the Title of the godly Party, to talk of Reformation, and the Power of Godliness, of advancing the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, &c. is to justify Sacrilege and Treason, and horrid Rebellion, and to qualify them for the Kings, and Priests, and Prophets of the World.

How far this satanical Madnes hath prevail'd to the Confusion of all Things civil and sacred, to the Scandal of Religion, the planting and watering of Atheism and Infidelity, I tremble to call to our Remembrance.

If my present Business were to refute the Men that have given this Offence, how easy were it to examine their Gifts and their Saintship, and how hard to find them? But as the Woman of *Samaria* said to our Saviour, *John* 4. 12. *Art thou greater than our Father Jacob*? Are they greater Saints, or better gifted than *Peter*, and *Paul*, and the rest of the Apostles? He that said, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*, had been wrapt up (whether in the Body or out, he could not tell) to the third Heavens, *Rom.* 13. 1. *2 Cor.* 12. 2, 3. Hath any of them been carry'd higher?

Christ, the natural Son of God, the Brightness of his Glory, the express Image of his Person, *Heb.* 1. 3. said, *Render to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's*, *Mat.* 22. 21. Are they greater than Christ also?

But my present Purpose being chiefly to remove these Scandals from Religion; come, and let us reason together; What could Christ and his Apostles have done more to prevent this Scandal, than they have done? Their Doctrine and Practice hath been already shewn, and the Danger and Heinousness of the Sin of Resistance (in all the Kinds and Degrees of it) discover'd;

cover'd; neither can any Thing more be imagin'd, which might be desir'd, to anticipate and obviate this Pretence, unless it be, that these Things should have been particularly foretold, and the Persons (at least their Party and Sect) describ'd, that the World might be forewarn'd of them.

Will it then satisfy the Enemies of our Religion, concerning the Truth and Infallibility of the Scriptures, and the Abhorrencey of the Christian Principle from this damnable Tenet, if it shall briefly appear that these Things have been punctually foretold by Christ and his Apostles?

Christ hath given Warning of *grievous Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing*, Matth. 7. 15.

More particularly St. Paul hath told us, that *in the last Days perilous Times should come*, 2 Tim. iii. 1. that there should be *heady, high-minded Traytors, having a Form of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof*, Verse 4, 5.

St. Peter, 2 Pet. ii. 1. that there should be *false Teachers, which should privily bring in damnable Heresies, presumptuous, self-will'd, not afraid to speak evil of Dignities*, Verse 10.

Now, if all this be not sufficient, St. Jude hath taken up this Prophecy of St. Peter, and given us two clear Characters of these Persons, whereby they might be known. He tells us, 1. That they shall be Separatists from the Church; and, 2. False Pretenders to the Spirit. *These are they which separate themselves, being sensual, having not the Spirit*, Jude 19.

I shall say no more to the Pretences relating to that Head, which concerns the Matter of Religion.

Secondly, Neither shall I enlarge upon that other Head referring to Matters Civil, where I instanc'd in two Pretences taken from,

I. Harsh Administration in the Magistrate.

II. Competition as to Power in Subjects.

I. Neither the Time, nor the Design, which I have propounded, nor (indeed) my Profession, nor Abilities, do allow me to enter into the Depths of the Politicks, or to discourse of the Limitations of Sovereign Powers. Thus much is obvious to every Man,

That there is no Cruelty so great as laxness of Government; nor any Tyranny in the World like the Rage of Subjects let loose; and that *the little Finger of Licentiousness is harder than the Loyns of the severest Laws, and strictest Government*.

I shall briefly shew, that the Scripture, foreseeing the easiness (by reason of the Self-love, and Partiality of Men) of this Pretence, and the danger of it, hath directly oppos'd it self against it.

I shall not mention particular Commands: Let us have recourse to the main Foundations; the Body, and Substance,



of Christianity, the MISHPAT HAMELEK (the *Jus Regium*) the Fundamental Law of the Kings of *Israel*.

1. Christianity obligeth us to believe, not only that Christ is God, and that the Gospel is from God, but that all the Circumstances of the Ministry of Christ, and his Apostles, were ordered by his Providence. Why then were the Times of *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, and *Nero*, (out of the Series of the Time spun out from the Creation) chosen and selected for the Promulgation of the Doctrine of Obedience. If harsh Administration of Power will exempt Men from Obedience, at that Time when *Claudius* or *Nero* was Roman Emperor, why should the Holy Ghost move *St. Paul* to write to the *Romans*, *They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*? So much briefly for the Gospel.

2. As for the *Jus Regium* in the 8th of the first Book of *Samuel*, we find the *Israelites* desiring a King; and God, (tho' rejected by this Motion) commands *Samuel* to *hearken to their Voice*, Ver. 9. Yet, that they might know what they did, and not be surpriz'd, (believing they might cast off again their King at Pleasure) he charges him to protest solemnly, and shew them מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ. Our Translation renders it, *The Manner of the King*. The Septagint, and all *Eastern* and *Western* Translations, render it by Words of signifying the Law, or the Right of the King, *Jus Regium*.

This (saith *Samuel*) shall be מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ, *He shall take your Sons and Daughters, your Vine-yards, your Fields, and your Flocks, &c.* Ver. 11, 12, &c. He tells 'em of harsh Administrations.

Was it the Meaning of the Holy Ghost, that (*de Jure*) Princes ought to do, or that it was lawful for them to do after the Manner there describ'd?

In *Deut.* 17. 14. we find the Duty of the Kings of *Israel* describ'd in a Way directly contrary to this; they were to *fear the Lord*, and not to turn aside to the right Hand, or to the left from his Commandments, Ver. 19. *Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings; be instructed, ye Judges of the Earth; serve the Lord with Fear, and rejoyce with Trembling*, *Psal.* 2. 10, 11.

Was it a Prediction of what would be their Condition, what would be the Manner of their Kings?

Not that neither. We do not read of any of the Kings of *Judah* or *Israel*, that proceeded to the Height there express'd. Even *Ahab*, who sold himself to work Wickedness, 1 *Kings* 21. 25. did not take *Naboth's* Vine-yard by Force; he would not seize on it, 'till *Jezebel* had brought about the Pretence of a legal Forfeiture.

What then is the Meaning of מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ? Surely it imports thus much, that if all this hard Usage should come upon

upon them, they might cry unto the Lord, Ver. 18. but that it would not dissolve *Jus Regium*, the Right of Sovereignty, or enable 'em to resist their Kings, or rebel against 'em.

II. There remains yet one Pretence to speak to, it concerns Competition of Power, either on,

1. Pretences of Succession into the Magistrate's Place, in Case of Failure of Duty, or upon Supposals of Forfeiture of Power.

2. Pretences of the last Resolution of Power into the People, the diffus'd Multitude, or the Peoples Representative, and the like.

Concerning which kind of Pretences, I must repeat what hath been said of the other. If they be admitted, they are destructive to Magistracy. If they be encourag'd by Religion, there will be Reason that Magistrates be jealous over it. But now is the Spirit of the Scriptures, and the Tendency of it, entirely bent another Way.

The *New Testament* affords no Instance in this kind. As to the *Old*, I shall desire that two Instances may be consider'd.

1. The Case of *David* and *Saul*.

2. The Case of *Corah* and *Moses*; which two Instances (if the Time would bear it) would take in the Substance of all that may be alledg'd in this kind.

1. It is, I conceive, impossible to carry the first Sort of Pretences higher, than they were stated in the Case of *David* and *Saul*. *Saul* was at first declar'd and constituted King by *Samuel*, acting in the Name of the Lord; and when he had reign'd two Years, the same *Samuel*, in the Name of the same God, before the same People, denounces publickly, that his Kingdom should not continue, 1 Sam. 13. 14. and that he had sought a Man after his own Heart, because he invaded the Priest's Office. After this, he limits a certain Day, he tells him, Chap. 15. 12. *This Day the Lord hath rent the Kingdom of Israel from thee, and given it to thy Neighbour*, because of his Rebellion against God in the Case of *Amalek*.

The Pretence of Failure and Forfeiture can go no higher. Now for the Pretences of *David* to step into his Government, and wrest it from him, he was anointed by *Samuel*, Chap. 16. 13. for ought appears, without Reservation for the Life of *Saul*. He was qualify'd for Government; a valiant Man, a Man of War, prudent in Matters, a comely Person, and the Lord was with him, Ver. 18. He had receiv'd Testimony from God of his Election; the Spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and rested on him. He had Power in his Hand, he was set over the Men of War, accepted by all the People; all Israel, Chap. 25. 5. and *Judah* lov'd him. After all this, you know his Provocations, his Advantages, and his Behaviour; he durst not touch the Lord's Anointed; and when another pretended to have done it at *Saul's* Intreaty in extremis, he reveng'd his Death, and lamented over him, *Ye Mountains of Gilboa*, &c. 2 Sam. 1. 2.

2. But



2. But that other Pretence, that after a lawful Sovereign is establish'd, (according to the Supposition of my Text, and my Discourse) the Power still remains in the People, (in the diffident Body of them, or their Representatives) to alter the Government, as they please; it is in Respect of Policy, and Government, what the Sin against the Holy Ghost is to Religion, it destroys the Foundations of the Peace and Safety of Men, and makes that to be the Artifice of Man, which is the Ordinance of God. How much God abhorr'd this Pretence, will appear in the Case of *Corah*, and his Company. When God sent *Moses* to bring the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, he sanctify'd him, and put his Name upon him, *Exod. 4. 16. Thou shalt be to him instead of God.* And when he had brought them forth, he made him a Prince and a Law-giver over them, *Acts 7. 35. Deut. 31. 1, 4.*

The supream Power was in *Moses*, who call'd to his Assistance a Senate, or Parliament, ( *מַדְבָּר* ) consisting of the Heads of the Tribes of *Israel*, *Numb. 16.* In this Council, Nature soon began to work, some envy'd *Moses*, whom God had chosen, and *Aaron* the Saint of the Lord, *Psal. 106. 16. Dathan* and *Abiram*, the Sons of *Eliab*, Heads of Families, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, thought both the civil Power, and (if that must be transferr'd from the First-born, to one Tribe) the Priesthood also was due to them, being eldest Brethren of the eldest Tribe. *Corah*, an eminent Man amongst the *Levites*, was offended that the High-priests Office went beside him, and was settl'd upon *Aaron* and his Posterity.

These were their secret Grievs; for a Redress whereof they make a Party in the Parliament, they gain to them two hundred and fifty Men, famous in the Parliament, Men of Renown: And, in order to their ambitious Designs, they remonstrate against *Moses*, *Verf. 13.* and their Declaration was this Pretence, which we are upon; that all the Congregation *כָּל־הַעֲדָה* were holy, and that *Moses* and *Aaron* had lifted up themselves above them; that is, that their Power was a Contrivance of themselves, not an Ordinance of God; that, notwithstanding what God had done to settle the civil and ecclesiastical Power, it remain'd still in the People, or their Representatives assembl'd together. Now, the Scripture tells us, That since the World began, God was never more highly provok'd, than upon this Occasion, when he heard this, he was wrath, and greatly abhorr'd them. He invented a new Thing in the World for their Sakes, for the Earth open'd, and swallow'd up *Dathan*, and cover'd the Congregation of *Abiram*, *Numb. 16. 32.*

Application. I have now done with these Pretences, and my Endeavour hath been to vindicate Religion from the Charges of unbelieving Politicians, and indeed to shew that it is not



not a Spirit of carnal Compliance, but the true and genuine Spirit of Christianity, which runs through the Doctrine and Government of the Church of England. After what hath been spoken, I hope I may presume to say with the Apostle, *Rom. 3. 31. Do we now make void the Laws through Faith? Yea, we establish the Laws.*

We have seen the Christian Theory; doth the philosophical Theory provide better for the Safety of Princes, and the Establishment of Government?

It tells us in Effect, that Might is Right; that every Thing is just or unjust, good or evil, according to the Pleasure of the prevailing Force, whom we are to obey 'till a stronger than he cometh, or we be able to go thro' with Resistance.

That in Reference to this Life, Obedience is a Matter of Wit and Prudence, and after Life there remain for us no Concernments. How stramenous is this Theory compar'd with the Christian Theory, which speaks in this wise, *Let every Soul be subject, &c*? That this is the genuine Christian Theory, hath in some Measure been demonstrated; so that indeed it may be wonder'd from whence these Prejudices have arisen.

But, alas! *that my Head were Waters!* They have one grand Objection, to which having spoken, I shall conclude.

If this be the Doctrine of Christianity, how comes it to pass, that those who pretend the highest to Religion, and profess themselves the only Christians, (the Bigot, and Jesuited Romanist, the frightened and transported Reformist) have been Authors of the most horrible Treasons and Rebellions.

On the one Hand, what mean the Catholick Leagues? On the other, the solemn League and Covenant forc'd upon Subjects, *renitente Principe*?

On one Hand, *what means* (shall I say, *the Lowing of the Oxen*, or rather) the Roaring of the Bulls, the Thundering of Excommunications, the absolving Subjects from their Allegiance, the actual Murtherers of Princes, the Attempts for blowing up King, Lords, and Commons, at one Clap? What is the Meaning of the Noise of the Bells, of the Claps of Squibs, and Fire-works, which we hear? On the other Hand, what was the Meaning of that black and terrible Dispensation, which will cause the Ears of all Posterity to tingle.

It is but a little while since the Anointed of the Lord, the holiest, the wisest, the best of Kings, was taken in the Snares of Men pretending to Reformation, and sacrific'd to the Fury of Men possess'd by an evil Spirit from the Lord. He as woffer'd as a Lamb that is dumb, or rather like the Lamb of God, to the Rage of wild fanatical Enthusiasts.

It is but a very little while since the Lamentation of *Jeremy* was in the Mouth of all the Faithful in the Land.

*Lam. 2. 9. Our Kings and our Princes were amongst the Gentiles,*

*tiles, (provok'd to serve other Gods) the Law was no more, the Prophets also receiv'd no Vision from the Lord. And all these things were brought to pass by Men pretending Wonders in Religion.*

And they would know the Reason of all these Dispensations. But who art thou, O Man! who presteest into the Secret of God's Pavilion? *How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out? Such Knowledge is too wonderful, we cannot attain unto it.*

It may be these Things have been done, that the Sayings of our Saviour might be fulfill'd, *It cannot be but Offences will come, but wo be to them by whom they come,* Matth. 18. 7. and *it were better that a Millstone,* &c. Ver. 6.

It may be the Gun-powder-Treason was permitted to be design'd, that the Disappointment might be had in everlasting Remembrance, and celebrated as it is this Day; *Son of Man, write the Name of the Day, even of this same Day; the King of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem this same Day,* Ezek. 25. 2.

It may be God suffer'd the late Rebellion to prevail, that he might not leave himself without Witness, but shew forth his Wonders in our Days, in the miraculous Restitution of our gracious Sovereign and the Church. If he had not been driven out, how could he have been restor'd? *Not by Might, nor by Power, but by the Spirit of our God.*

It may be this was done that we might say no more, *The Lord liveth which deliver'd us from the Treason of pretended Catholics;* but *the Lord liveth which hath deliver'd us from the Tyranny and bloody Rage of the wild fanatical Enthusiasts.*

Surely all these Things have been permitted; that the Stone which the Builders refus'd, might be made try'd and precious, and that his Patience, his Piety, his Constancy in Religion, his Christian Magnanimity being manifest to all the World; by the impatient Desire of all Nations, he might become the Head of the Corner.

Surely these Things were suffer'd, that the Faith, and Patience, and Loyalty of the Church of England might be made bright and glorious by the Flames of Persecution; and that in the Day when God shall have given our most gracious Sovereign the Hearts or Necks of all his Enemies, it may not repent him of the Kindness he hath shewn to Religion and Government, in lifting out of the Dust the despis'd Head of that only Church, (for ought I know) which makes Obedience without base Restrictions and Limitations, an Article of its Religion.

Lastly, these Things, it may be, have been permitted, that by the Triumph of this day, and by the vengeance lately executed in the sight of this Sun, the atheistical world might be convinc'd, that *the Powers that be, are ordain'd of God, and that tho' the wicked do evil 100 times, and God prolong their days, yet Vengeance is his, and he will repay it;* and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

F I N I S.



